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Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 4220

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UN, NATO
SUBJECT: NATO POLADS CONSULTATION ON 28TH UNGA

SUMMARY: DISCUSSION BROUGHT OUT INTERESTING VIEWS ESPECIALLY ON KOREA, NAMIBIA, NUF, PEACEKEEPING AND WDC. ON KOREA, US, UK, BELGIUM AND NETHERLANDS SUPPORTED OMNIBUS RESOLUTION, FRANCE GAVE AMBIGUOUS SUPPORT, AND NORWAY PRESSED STRONGLY FOR DELETION DUAL MEMBERSHIP PARAGRAPH. ON NAMIBIA, UK SAID WOULD NOT CONSIDER RESTRICTING TRADE, DUTCH SAID WOULD PROBABLY OPPOSED UK POSITION, GERMANS EXPLAINED HOW THEY ARE DEALING WITH AFRICAN PRESSURES. ON NUF, BRITISH THOUGHT SOVIETS WOULD FOLD THIS INTO ANNUAL SIS EXERCISE. BRITISH ALSO REVEALED OUTLINES THEIR NEW PAPER ON PEACEKEEPING. ON WD, US, FRG, CANADA AND UK GENERALLY MORE NEGATIVE THAN BELGIUM, NETHERLANDS, AND NORWAY. END SUMMARY.

1. LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION: BELGIUM, FRANCE, GERMANY, NORWAY AND PORTUGAL WERE RESPRESENTED BY HEADS OF THEIR UN DEPARTMENT (BAUWENS, LEPRETTE, RUHFUS, VRAALSEN, SACADURA CABRAL); U.S., UK NETHERLANDS AND ITALY BY THEIR DEPUTIES (HERZ, SOLESBY, NORBART, AND RACHELE). DENMARK, CANADA,
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GREECE, TURKEY AND LUXEMBOURG WERE REPRESENTED BY PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO NATO, OF WHOM CANADIANS WERE ESPECIALLY WELL-BRIEFED. ON MOST ITEMS U.S. AND UK TOOK THE LEAD, USUALLY FOR LACK OF OTHER VOLUNTEERS. FRANCE HAD LOW PROFILE,

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TAKING LEAD ONLY ON SAHEL ITEM. GERMANY, ITALY, BELGIUM, NETHERLANDS AND NORWAY ALSO PARTICIPATED ACTIVELY.

2. KOREA. AFTER U.S. EXPOSITION OF STRATEGY AND ITS RATIONALE, AS WELL AS OUTLINE OF RESOLUTION UNDER CONSIDERATION, NETHERLANDS REP THOUGHT IT LIKELY HIS UN DEL WOULD CO-SPONSOR. NORWAY QUESTIONED DESIRABILITY OF OMNIBUS RESOLUTION AND ESPECIALLY INCLUSION OF LANGUAGE ON DUAL MEMBERSHIP ("HIGHLY CONTROVERSIAL") AND UNC ("VERY DIFFICULT"). BELGIUM WOULD PROBABLY SUPPORT AND POSSIBLY CO-SPONSOR. UK DEFENDED OMNIBUS APPROACH AND EXPLAINED WHY LOGIC OF NORTH KOREAN POSITION ON RECOGNITION AND MEMBERSHIP IN SPECIALIZED ORGANIZATION WOULD MAKE IMPLAUSIBLE ITS OPPOSITION TO RESOLUTION THAT ONLY EXPRESSES HOPE BOTH KOREAN STATES WOULD CONSIDER DUAL MEMBERSHIP. ITALY SAW DIFFICULTY IN ADDRESSING QUESTION OF UN MEMBERSHIP OF A STATE WHICH IT HAS NOT YET RECOGNIZED, AND RAISED OTHER TECHNICAL POINTS. FRANCE SAID IT HAD NOT YET SEEN TEXT BUT BELIEVED ROK FLEXIBILITY SHOULD BE REWARDED, ADDING CRYPTICALLY THAT RESOLUTION SHOULD BE SO DRAFTED AS TO ATTRACT LARGEST NUMBER OF VOTES "WHICH MEANS THIRD WORLD AND IF POSSIBLE SOME SOCIALIST VOTES." NORWAY RETURNED TO ATTACK ON DUAL MEMBERSHIP PARAGRAPH, ARGUING THAT IF ISSUE IS NOT PRESSED NORTH KOREANS BOUND TO CHANGE THEIR ATTITUDE, FOR THE VERY REASONS OF LOGIC CITED BY UK. "NORTH KOREA SHOULD NOT BE BACKED INTO A CORNER ON MEMBERSHIP." ARGUED SUBSTANTIALLY ALONG SAME LINE RE UNC (THAT IF DPRK NOT PRESSED, IT BOUND EVENTUALLY TO SEEK UN MEMBERSHIP, WHICH WOULD MAKE UNC PROBLEM MORE MANAGEABLE). NORWAY AGREED WITH FRANCE THAT IMPORTANT TO FIND TEXT THAT COULD GET BROADEST POSSIBLE SUPPORT AND MINIMIZE CONFRONTATION.

3. TERRORISM AND PROTECTION OF DIPLOMATS. U.S. AND UK EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT WITH TERRORISM COMMITTEE AND HOPE THAT CONVENTION ON PROTECTION OF DIPLOMATS COULD BE APPROVED AT UNGA, STRESSING IMPORTANCE OF KEEPING TWO ITEMS SEPARATE. UK WOULD LIKE TO BURY TERRORISM COMMITTEE AND ENTIRE ITEM WITH IT. ITALY "FULLY SUPPORTED U.S. AND UK," BELIEVED CONFIDENTIAL

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USSR WOULD COOPERATE ON DIPLOMAT CONVENTION. BUT ITALY FAVORED CONTINUED ATTEMPTS TO DRAFT TERRORISM CONVENTION AND BELIEVED AT LEAST DEFINITION COULD BE ACHIEVED AS FIRST STEP. BELGIUM AND CANADA AGREED SUBJECTS SHOULD BE KEPT APART, FAVORED CUTTING OFF GA DEBATE ON TERRORISM. FRANCE FELT MANDATE OF TERRORISM COMMITTEE "NEED NOT BE RENEWED" BUT VOICED SKEPTICISM ABOUT DIPLOMAT CONVENTION (IT MIGHT BE SEEN AS SELF-SERVING). PORTUGAL SAID ONE OF REASONS TERRORISM DEBATE MADE NO PROGRESS IS THAT SUBJECT TOO NARROWLY DEFINED, SHOULD BE ADDRESSED ON "MORE GLOBAL BASIS."

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4. SOUTH AFRICA. SINCE BROAD COMPLEX OF AFRICAN PROBLEMS WAS NOT ON AGENDA BY PREVIOUS AGREEMENT (USNATO 3659 AND STATE 159831), U.S. WAS NOT ABLE TO EXPLORE PROBLEMS LIKELY TO BE ENCOUNTERED IN DEBATES ON PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES AT RHODESIA. DISCUSSION CENTERED ON NAMIBIA. UK FELT STRONGLY THAT WESTERN TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN SA AND SWA BENEFICIAL TO LOCAL INHABITANTS (WHICH ALLEGEDLY RECOGNIZED BY MANY AFRICAN LEADERS). UK ALSO BELIEVED POLICY OF TRADING WITH COUNTRIES REGARDLESS OF THEIR INTERNAL POLITICAL CONDITIONS NOT INCOMPATIBLE WITH SUPPORT FOR SELF-DETERMINATION. GERMANY REPORTED ON RECENT DISCUSSION WITH AMB OGBU WHO ALSO REPRESENTED COUNCIL ON NAMIBIA AND PRESSED FOR DISCONTINUATION FRG CONSULATE IN WINDHOEK. FRG TOLD HIM WOULD PROBABLY ASSOCIATE ITSELF WITH ICJ ADVISORY OPINION THAT CONTINUED SA PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA ILLEGAL, BUT NEEDED CONSULATE THERE TO PROTECT GERMANS AND PERSONS OF GERMAN ORIGIN. MOREOVER IF CONSULTATE CLOSED THEIR CITIZENS WOULD HAVE TO ADDRESS THEMSELVES TO GERMAN CONSULATE IN PRETORIA.

5. CONTINUING ON NAMIBIA, FRANCE PREDICTED DIFFICULT GA DEBATE, FORESAW TERMINATION OF SYG'S MANDATE FOR DISCUSSIONS, THOUGHT WOULD BE PREFERABLE ONLY SUSPEND IT UNTIL NEW ELEMENTS INTRODUCED INTO SITUATION; DID NOT BELIEVE SYG'S MISSION COMPLETELY
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UNSUCCESSFUL. U.S. AGREED. ITALY SAID HAD SUPPORTED CONTACTS BUT NOTED AFRICANS THINK THEY HAVE BEEN AGAINST INTERESTS OF NAMIBIAN PEOPLE. NETHERLANDS REP NOTED NEW GOVERNMENT IN THE HAGUE TAKING DIFFERENT STANCE, AND WARNED "MY AUTHORITIES WOULD HAVE GREATEST DIFFICULTY DEFENDING UK POSITION THAT TRADE BENEFITS THE POPULATION." NORWAY, WHILE NOTING IT HAD

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VIRTUALLY NO TRADE WITH NAMIBIA, SAID IT WOULD ABIDE
BY SANCTIONS BUT MEANWHILE WOULD CONTINUE TRADE. ITALY
SUGGESTED NATO COUNTRIES TALK WITH SPONSORS OF RESOLUTIONS THAT
INCLUDE ANTI-NATO LANGUAGE, ATTEMPT PERSUADE THEM THAT WITHOUT
SUCH LANGUAGE THEY WOULD GET MORE SUPPORT.

6. MEMBERSHIP. GERMANS EXPRESSED THANKS FOR SMOOTH PASSAGE OF
ADMISSION RESOLUTION IN SC, AND DISCUSSED AT LENGTH THEIR
PROBLEM THAT FOLLOWING UNANIMOUS ADMISSION OF GDR, ROLL-CALL
VOTE MIGHT BE DEMANDED ON FRG ADMISSION. (PRIVATELY GERMAN REP
REPORTED HE HAD HEARD GDR ASKING ARAB FRIENDS TO PREVAIL UPON
RADICAL BLACK AFRICANS TO DESIST FROM ANTI-FRG MANEUVERS.)
U.S. RAISED BANGLADESH ADMISSION QUESTION, INQUIRED ABOUT
IMPRESSIONS. CANADA CITED REPORT FROM ITS UN MISSION THAT
"ATMOSPHERE MORE CONDUCIVE TO MEMBERSHIP" BUT YUGOSLAVS NOT
PUSHING SO FAR THIS YEAR PROBABLY FOR FEAR OF ANTAGONIZING PRC.
CANADA BELIEVED BANGLADESH ADMISSION SHOULD NOT BE DEBATED
UNTIL AFTER SC VOTE. BELGIUM THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE NO DEBATE.
U.S. TRIED TO GET DISCUSSION GOING ON MICROSTATE PROBLEM.
FRENCH SAID THIS NEVER DEBATED IN UN. BELGIANS CORRECTED SAYING
HAD BEEN DEBATED 1965 AND 1966. BELGIANS NOTED "ABILITY TO
FULFILL OBLIGATIONS" OF CHARTER MIGHT PROVIDE HANDLE. NO ONE
ELSE SPOKE.

7. SIS ("STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY") AND SOR
("STRENGTHENING OF ROLE OF UN"). FRANCE SAID THREE SIS DEBATES
ARE ENOUGH, WOULD ABSTAIN AND "NOT PARTICIPATE VERY ACTIVELY
IN DEBATE." ON SOR ARE OPEN-MINDED BUT HOPE WOULD NOT TAKE UP TOO
MUCH TIME. UK AND ITALY MADE CHARITABLE REMARKS ON SOR. RE SIS,
ITALY SAID "FACT THAT WESTERN COUNTRIES HAVE ABANDONED
INITIATIVE TO OTHER COUNTRIES HAS AFFECTED OUTCOME", ADVOCATED
MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN HEADING OFF UNDESIRABLE RES. BELGIUM
THOUGH SIS USELESS EXERCISE, RE SOR WAS REASSURED BY CEAUSESCU
REMARK TO DUTCH THAT ROMANIA NOT SEEKING CHARTER CHANGES.
U.S. STRESSED UNDESIRABILITY OF ESTABLISHING YET ANOTHER
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COMMITTEE AS MAY BE PROPOSED BY ROMANIANS. ITALY THOUGHT SOR
PRINCIPLES "GO WELL WITH PRINCIPLES ADVOCATED BY WESTERN
COUNTRIES IN CSCE."

8. NON-USE OF FORCE. AT INVITATION OF CHAIRMAN, U.S. MADE
PRESENTATION ON FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SOVIET-
SPONSORED NUF RESOLUTION AND THE PRINCIPLES EMBODIED IN
U.S.-USSR AGREEMENT ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR.
IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS WHETHER ACCESSION BY OTHER STATES OR
PROMULGATION BY UN CONTEMPLATED, REPLIED CATEGORICALLY IN
NEGATIVE. SAID WE SEE NO CONNECTION BETWEEN NUF, WHICH IS
ARTFUL FORMULA BY WHICH USSR CAN THREATEN CHINA, AND OUR
AGREEMENT WHICH TENDS TO MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR SOVIETS
TO ENGAGE IN NUCLEAR ROCKET-RATTLING. WE SEE NO BENEFIT
WHATEVER IN TRYING TO MARRY THE TWO, BELIEVE ACCESSIONS TO

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BILATERAL GREEMENT INAPPROPRIATE, AND WOULD IN PRINCIPLE
OPPOSE FURTHER DISCUSSION OF NUF IN 28TH UNGA. UK NOTED SOVIET
NOTE ON SIS INCLUDED A PARAGRAPH ON NUF, SO THEY MAY USE THEIR
ANNUAL SIS EXERCISE FOR THAT PURPOSE. UK SAW NO VALUE IN
THESE GENERALIZED PRINCIPLES, "ONE-HALF OF WHICH ARE CONTAINED
IN THE CHARTER WHILE THE OTHER HALF DEALING WITH "PERMANENT
PROHIBITION" IS PHRASED IN A WAY HARMFUL TO NATO STRATEGY
OF FLEXIBLE RESPONSE."

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9. PEACEKEEPING (PK). UK NOTED COMMITTEE THIS YEAR "TOOK A NEW
LEASE ON LIFE," REFERRED TO CANADIAN PAPER AS "USEFUL INITIATIVE"
AND SAID THEY HAD BEEN RETHINKING THE PROBLEM IN CONSULTATION WITH
ACADEMIC EXPERTS AND WOULD SHORTLY INTRODUCE A NEW WORKING PAPER.
THAT PAPER WOULD NOT TRY TO SOLVE ALL THE PROBLEMS BUT WOULD SET
OUT NEW VIEWS ON DELIMITING THE ROLES OF SYG AND SECURITY COUNCIL
RESPECTIVELY. PAPER WOULD "SUGGEST SOME COMPROMISE BETWEEN NEED
OF SYG TO HAVE POWER OF INITIATIVE, PARTICULARLY IN RUNNING A PK
OPERATION, AND THE FACT THAT AT THIS STAGE IN TIME IT IS VERY
UNLIKELY THAT THE SC WOULD BE WILLING TO ALLOW AT LEAST THE ULTI-
MATE CONTROL OF THE MORE IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF PK TO REMAIN OUT OF
ITS HANDS." SC MIGHT BE GIVEN OPPORTUNITY TO "CHALLENGE" DECISIONS
OF SYG RATHER THAN TRY TO CONTROL THEM WHEN THEY ARE TAKEN. UK
SAID THERE IS GROWING FEELING COMMITTEE HAS DONE AS MUCH AS IT
USEFULLY CAN; IT SHOULD NOT COME TO AN END IN CIRCUMSTANCES OF
FAILURE; BUT WAYS COULD BE FOUND FOR IT "TO AIM SLIGHTLY LOWER."
PERHAPS IT SHOULD NOT HAVE TRIED TO LAY DOWN PROCEDURES APPLICABLE
TO ALL PK OPERATIONS. IT MIGHT CONFINE ITSELF TO "LISTING ALTERNATIVE
ARRANGEMENTS FROM WHICH A CHOICE WOULD BE MADE IN EACH INDIVIDUAL
OPERATION." US SAID WHILE OUR THINKING HAS NOT ADVANCED AS FAR
AS UK, WE ARE WILLING BE MORE FLEXIBLE AND LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING

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UK PAPER. NETHERLANDS STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF NOT GIVING UP ON
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CTEE OF 33. FRENCH TERMED BRITISH REPORT ENCOURAGING.

10. UNFICYP. US EXPLAINED IMPORTANCE OF SERIOUS STUDY OF FORCE REDUCTIONS, STRESSING THEY CAN BE MADE WITHOUT ALTERATION OF MANDATE AND WITHOUT ADVERSELY AFFECTING INTERCOMMUNCAL SITUATION AND NEGOTIATIONS; REFERRED TO FACT FORCE HAD BEEN PROGRESSIVELY SCALED DOWN FROM 6,000 TO 3,100 WITHOUT DECONFRONTATION AND WITHOUT REDUCING EFECTIVENESS. CANADA EXPRESSED HOPE SYG'S REVIEW "WILL RESULT IN MORE RAPID MOVEMENT TOWARD POLITICAL SOLUTION AND SCALING DOWN OF UN PRESENCE. UK WELCOMED SYG'S INITIATIVE AS WELL AS "THE CAUTIOUS APPROACH HE HAD ADOPTED IN TAKING INTO ACCOUNT NOT ONLY FINANCIAL CONSIDERATIONS BUT ALSO POLITICAL AND MILITARY ONES." ITALY EXPRESSED AGREEMENT (PROBABLY WITHOUT APPRECIATION OF MODESTY OF THIS UK ENDORSEMENT).

11. NARCOTICS. CANADA SAID IT PRESENTLY CONSIDERING CONTRIBUTION FOR NEXT FISCAL YEAR, SAID HAD RECENTLY EVALUATED VARIOUS PROJECTS AND ARE SATISFIED THEY ARE WORTHWHILE AND BENEFICIAL TO CANADA. US STRONGLY ENDORSED AND CALLED FOR FY 72 CONTRIBUTORS TO MAKE 73 CONTRIBUTIONS. NORWAY SAID IT HAD JUST MADE ITS 73 CONTRIBUTION. GERMANS SAID ATTACH MUCH IMPORTANCE TO THE PROGRAM AND "IN ALL PROBABILITY WILL MAKE ANOTHER CONTRIBUTION IN 74." BELGIUM SAID ENVISAGING CONTRIBUTION $25,000 FOR 74 PLUS POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTIONS IN KIND. FRANCE SAID FULLY SUPPORTS, AND "OUR PUBLIC OPINION NOW SENSITIZED ON THIS ISSUE." UK ALSO SAID FULLY SUPPORTS.

12. SAHELIAN RELIEF. NOTHING NOTEWORTHY EMERGED FROM REVIEW.

13. WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE (WDC). US MADE PRESENTATION ON TACTICAL SITUATION AND UNDESIRABILITY OF MOVING IN DIRECTION OF PREPARATIONS FOR WDC. NETHERLANDS EXPRESSED DOUBTS HOVEYDA FORMULA COULD WORK AND RFERRED TO GROWING SENTIMENT IN NY AND GENEVA THAT IN VIEW OF LIKELY DEMISE OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE, THE UNDC SHOULD BE CONVENED. INDICATED THEY HAVE OPEN MIND, ALSO ON WDC "PROVIDED IT SERIOUSLY PREPARED AND ALL MILITARILY IMPORTANT POWERS INCLUDING ALL NUCLEARS PARTICIPATE." LATER DESCRIBED THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD CONFERENCE UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS AS "POSITIVE." NORWAY SHARED NETHERLANDS VIEW WITH IDENTICAL SPECIFICATIONS. BELGIUM SAID VIEWS CLOSE TO THOSE OF DUTCH. FRENCH EXPRESSED DOUBTS ABOUT HOVEYDA PLAN, SAID THEY WOULD BE "DISPOSED TO PARTICIPATE PROVIDED PRINCIPAL MILITARY POWERS AND ALL NUCLEARS
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PARTICIPATE." UK SAID ABOUT THE SAME, ADDING THAT IF THOSE CONDIT-IONS NOT FULFILLED THEN NOT IN FAVOR, AND ALL THE SIGNS ARE THAT THE CONDITIONS WON'T BE MET. THOUGH USSR LOSING SOME ENTHUSIASM FOR WDC, SEEING IT NOT GOING ANYWHERE. FRG WAS SKEPTICAL ABOUT

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WDC UNDER ANY CONDITIONS, FOR REASONS SIMILAR TO THOSE CITED BY US (NOT FORUM FOR SERIOUS WORK WHICH REQUIRES MORE LIMITED MEMBERSHIP). CANADA ALSO SKEPTICAL, SAID WDC BE PROPAGANDA FORUM AND WOULD UNDERMINE CCD, BUT "MIGHT BE WILLING OVERLOOK THESE OBJECTIONS IF ALL NUCLEAR POWERS PARTICIPATED."

14. DEFINITION OF AGGRESSION. THERE WAS AGREEMENT THIS ITEM MOVING IN DIRECTION OF AGREEMENT BUT IT WOULD BE UNDESIRABLE TO HAVE IT DEBATED IN SIXTH COMMITTEE.

15. ENVIRONMENT. US ENDORSED COUNCIL'S REPORT, ITALY EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS RE POWERS OF THE COUNCIL, RELATIONS WITH SPECIALIZED AGENCIES, PROGRAM, ITC. FRANCE SAID ONE SHOULD NOT BE TOO SEVERE, WORK IS ONLY BEGINNING. FELT REPORT ON THE WHOLE VERY GOOD, BUT EXPRESSED DISQUIET OVER EMERGING "COMPETION BETWEEN MEEDS OF LDC'S AND NEEDS OF DC'S WHICH INVOLVES THE RISK THAT THE FORMER, WITH THEIR MAJORITY, WILL FORCE THROUGH PROGRAMS OF INTEREST PRIMARILY TO THEM." RUMSFELD

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